village. To clean the path in front of hunters or fisherman is a very unselfish job because the man who does it remains without game and will depend for food on the good will of the others.)

The first words of the speech, "This is your wife," also start the speech of the brother of a girl when she is given as compensation (mori) to the hunter who killed a jaguar for her dead brother. In the case of initiation the words do not have sexual implications but merely point out the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is given to his initiator. The continuous companionship anticipated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son, and his father—his yorubodare. The meaning is more apparent in other variants of the speech which do not start with akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare;" or when akoredureo, "this is your husband," is occasionally added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the initiator will assume toward the boy. Until the rite, the boy's father was responsible for his education. The father showed him how to use bow and arrows, taught him how to make ornaments, and told him the names of different plants and animals. Now the initiator will take the father's place and

881 complete the boy's education. They will be together all the
868 time, and the boy, through observation and instruction, will learn the tasks required of an adult Bororo man.

855 Bororo fathers and mothers are very affectionate and
868 patient with their children. Both parents teach the child how to talk, and when the child grows up and starts asking questions, they try to explain everything they are asked.
603 The method of education is by advice and persuasion. In
868 the village where I worked, a three-year-old girl once was crying and screaming loudly at her grandmother. The woman seemed not to pay too much attention to her behavior and kept talking gently to her, saying that she should not be angry with her grandparents because they were not maltreating her; they were teaching her so she would know how to do things and would behave correctly; that when she grew up she would go to collect ako (one kind of nut) and pick ari, boko, and jatugo (fruits of the forest); that for these
855 reasons they were talking to her. Sometimes, however, the
861 Bororo make the children obey by threatening that some animals, owls or wolves, will come and eat their sexual organs. Very seldom is a child beaten; when it happens, it is only for special transgressions. Only once did I see a mother strike her daughter with a stick. She had found the child eating clay, and the child had been previously warned several times not to do it. The children are never forced to do something they do not want to do. A mother can ask her young daughter to go to the spring to get some water, but if the girl says itaidu kare--"I do not want to do it"--the mother will take the container and go to the spring herself.
868 At three or four years of age a girl will start to play
562 with small baskets, straw trays, and fans that her mother

868 562 makes for her. A boy will play with calabashes and with small bows and arrows made for him by his father. As they grow up girls and boys are educated by their mothers and fathers, respectively, in the tasks that they will perform as adults. The fact that the principal educator of a boy is his father has far-reaching consequences. Since the Bororo headman, boe eimejera, should be a good hunter, a good fisherman, a good craftsman, and above all an intellectual with great knowledge of tribal traditions, myths, and songs, and since all skills and knowledge are acquired from one's fathers and initiators, the office of headman is not transmitted matrilineally but goes from father to son. One may also become knowledgeable without having a knowledgeable father. He may receive the desired instruction from some other man, but only if he pays the man, i.e., if he gives presents of food in exchange for information. From his matrilineage, from his classificatory brothers, and from his namegiver (if he is one of his brothers) a man will inherit the right to ceremonial performances, names, and songs; but he will not be taught how to perform the ceremonies or how to sing the songs unless he pays his instructors. I quote here the words of a headman, which convey the Bororo thoughts about education:

868 829 593

> If your father is a knowledgeable man, if he is a chief of the Bororo, he will want you to be like him, to be as knowledgeable as he is. He will will die but you will be here in his place, you will be the chief of the Bororo in his place. With this in mind he instructed you in all these things.
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> But suppose you do not listen to your father's

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words. He wants to teach you but you do not care and as a consequence you remain ignorant. The people will say, "It may be that his father was ignorant, and because of this he does not know anything." I know things and thus the people do not gossip about my father. People say about me, "With him is his father's knowledge and reason."

Another example. The people do not quarrel with your father or with your mother, nor do they quarrel with you; they will say, "Yes, he is the true child of his parents, he is just like they are." But if you fight and quarrel with people, they will say: "He is not the child of his parents; they are different."

However, if your father does not know things, you will kill some animal, you will catch some fish, and you will give them to someone who knows things, and he will teach you. The people will then say, "The father is no good, and yet his son speaks so well. He is not stingy with meat and fish and feathers. He is knowledgeable, because he is not stingy. So after having been an orphan, he is not an orphan anymore."

1

Ao yoruduwa rakã-guragare, boe eimejerare aoche. Jorudu iwa rakã-guragare toro. Du tabore ichare ure awodudo. Kodire aidure awo nono turyeore. Aerudu iwawo tuyorudu iwa rakã-guraga du uryeore. Rudumi tu vi mode ma aki akagurure tumugato kodi. Akiwo boe eimejerare aki tumugato. Kodire ure aerudu iwado tumearudae jamẽdu boeji. Oino.

Mare aki amearu toru kare ao boe eimejera bataruji. Aidure aerudu iwado, mare amearu toru kare bataruji. Kodire ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Kodire boe egore: 'ao rabora yoruduwa bokware kodiba ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Oino. Imire paga karega iyorudu iware oino. Kodire boe emago kare toro iyogwaji. Boe egore apore uwo jorudae, mearudae meture.

Iya pugeje. Boe kori kare aoji, acheji. Du boe kori kare ai, arugodu kare, ako ki kare. Du boe ego mode: 'u, onaregedu rugadu rabode. Kodire ichare ure nono tuje, tuwo uryeore. Iya keje ao pega kare, ache pega kare, akire ichare apegare. Boe kori barikare ai, arugodu kigodure, ako ki kigodure boei. Ao, ache onaregedu karega ure aki kodi. Aore tuginoi.

Mare ao yorudu iwa bokwa iya boeji, mare nonore ure. Kodire a mode iya karo, iya barogo a mode bito. Du a mode iya rogu maku t jorudu iwarewu mearudu iwarewu ai. Du tabore ichare u mode aerudu iwado. Du tabore boe ego mode: 'Uwo pega, jorudu iwa bokwa kodi karega, akore oino. Mare jetori kare t iya ture bitowu karo, barogo, nabure kuido ikodo aro

597 When a child loses his parents, he is not left alone. Usually one of his mother's true or classificatory sisters or his father's true mother or sister will take care of him. 737 Old or disabled persons also can count on a large range of 736 relatives for some help and food. In Pobojari there was a blind man living in the men's house. When the "meal of the spirits" was held, his pots and pans were filled up so that he would have enough food for the next day. Normally eight women of the village saw to it that he was not without food. The man was a classificatory brother to three of the women. He was the mother's brother (a "brother") to an unmarried girl who was also an orphan and was living with her father's sister. She did not have food of her own, but she made a fire for the blind man when it was cold, and occasionally she washed his dishes. To another of the three women he was "father's son" (uwo onaregedu), and to the third he was "father's brother's son" (uwo umana onaregedu). Two other women addressed him as "grandfather" (iyedaqa): he was "husband's brother" (oredu umana) to one and "husband's father's son" (Oredu uwo onaregedu) to the other. Still another called him "father" (iyoqwa). He was "father's brother" (uwo uviye) to her. Finally there were two women who considered themselves his "mother." Each had taken the role of mother for different dead belonging to the same

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[669 829 593] bu keje, kodire ichare jorudu iware oino, jetori bokware kodi. Du tabore ure jorudo iwado marenaru ui t pudumidu oto keje. Kodire ichare marenaru kare ema. Oino.'"